/160 cont./

437 439 [554] carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a [37] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in 291 177 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which 412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this [411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears, [231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones, [276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax. [237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEXT continues on P. 40]

/164 cont./

287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

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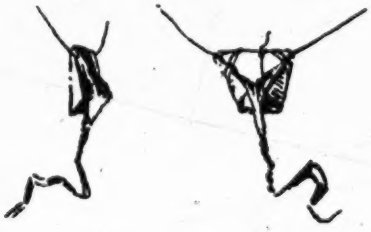

Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaú has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ buritĭ straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[721] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

• 276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijũ; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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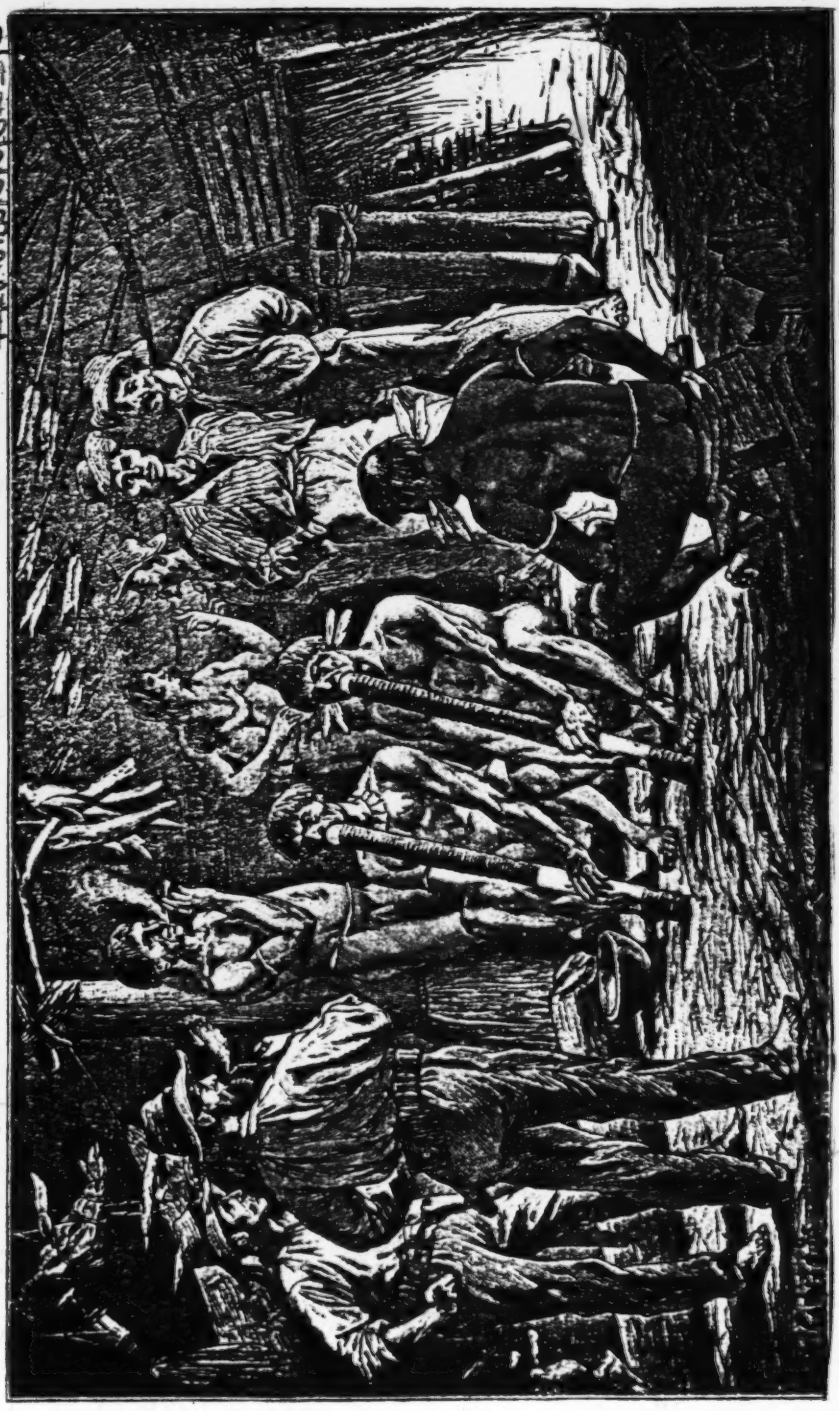

Flute duet among the Bakairí.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "åla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate
/see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
● [276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "åla, åla" was very humble and urgent.

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established; when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and [122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate [206] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kχato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/66 cont./

264 and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered
576 another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

264 Now among the Bakaïrí this etiquette was definitely
276 stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they com-
123 pletely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country, I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of something improper; I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

264 If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked
261 inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakaïrí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away.
[146] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakaïrí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

ooo Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

/68 cont./

intercourse between the two sexes goes back to a time when each man had to see to it that he had his wife for himself alone, sought to protect her from the lustful glances of his fellow tribesmen, and, for this purpose, used the clothing that developed either out of the pleasure of adornment or out of reasons of utility. Then clothing itself became sacred. It is certainly an interesting parallel if we regard the naked Indians as an indecent lot and imagine ourselves in the soul of a Bakaïrí who would not know what to do out of shame if he saw the dreadfully indecent Europeans united at a table d'hôte. He would quickly become accustomed to it, however, and would perhaps the very next night dream that he was back on the Kulisehu, would find old and young cozily gathered together dining on a tapir roast, and would be astonished to be informed by the chief: "We always eat together now."

276
[512] Tobacco club. My friends were most natural in the evening after the day's burden and toil, when we men sat together smoking on the village plaza. A more harmless conviviality could scarcely be imagined, although, or if one wishes, because, there was no drinking. Punctually, with his long pipe, like the first of the people of rank at the table reserved for the regular guests, stiff-legged old Paleko appeared, the spindle-shaped bundle of tobacco, a twig with leaves for wrapping, and a chunk of wood in his hands, and squatted down on the sitting beam, sighing contentedly. [516] My back soon became sore in this sitting position a handbreadth above the ground, and I would drag my oxhide out of the hut. A couple of sticks were placed together radially, along with the glowing chunk of wood, and a small fire kindled. The clay pipe was unknown; /69/ they smoked cigars or regular cigarettes, albeit 25 centimeters long. The leaf wrapping was still green and was held over the fire for only a few seconds; it gave off a balsamy odor. The cigar went out frequently; it was held against the embers to light it again. Occasionally one would have fire given to him from the cigar of his neighbor, but in that case he handed him his own which the other would put

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaïrí sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[626] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kúra," or bad, "kurápa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/210 cont./

Category 8 could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pihí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarí" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the village. Thus they transplanted near the village the ipecuí grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

The Piaga has universal fame in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the Bakairí, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakairí. The Mehinakú and the Bakairí had the best cotton. The oriean bush was valued above all by the Bakairí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work. The surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

/345 cont./

by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situation whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, ãgukuríčku or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, sedwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ãtško. Everyone listens attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others: the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

The Auetö chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Auetö chief had already been dead. When the medicine

/346 cont./

*191 755 994 995 539 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a cobra snake or a sukurf snake or a falcon. He ascended to heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the Tamitotoala (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that one...., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Krito had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogo and pikf juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Krito provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the hole by which one gets out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

191 755 296 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcotic. Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

2: Steinen--410 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi

/347 cont./

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smoke and flare up more or less quickly when one blows on them. Leaves burning with an aromatic or stupefying smoke would strike the sensitive nose of the Indian while he was blowing on them and would be found useful by him for his medicinal sorcerer's kitchen. He inhaled the smoke and swallowed it (hence always the expression "drink" among the discoverers of America).

There are two kinds of "tobacco", the tobacco which one smokes for pleasure is different from the kind that cures and is much weaker. In the cures which I saw the ordinary tobacco was used, probably there are other leaves that have a stronger narcotic effect. The Schingú cigarette in its green aromatic leaf-wrapping is probably one of the simplest forms of regular smoking enjoyment. Tobacco smoke cures everything. I saw infected eyes, inflammation of the hip joint, burns, abdominal pains, and other such things treated with it. The boys blew it into my ears and talked into them loudly, so that I would understand their language better. Perhaps if a patient is blown upon for a long time with a thick cloud of smoke a slight drowsiness is aimed at, but in each case the patient, already suffering, must lapse into a dull state as a result of the untiring, monotonous moaning and kneading, in which he may experience transformations just as well as the medicine man. I did not obtain any accounts or examples of this, however.

In the following chapter I must discuss a simpler method of blowing, by means of which the sorcerer transforms, not himself, but others, and which occurs without tobacco smoke.

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The medicine man or anyone else blows in a different way when he drives away a thunderstorm by blowing. Saliva is puffed out through a spray funnel against the clouds. I myself saw the remedy work several times and was then sorry that in my overly great caution, in spite of the urgent requests of the Indians, I had not puffed along with them. I lacked the power of imagination.

/561 cont./
have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo, from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red stone /562/ with which they killed Meru and Arimoto, there is underneath the Mama the dream (Vbdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimaan /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets upand wanders off.

How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kanawi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamiras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it unmercifully.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn the language of animals and of Kanawi. a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirão, mingau, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /563/ tamandua, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beiú and peixinho bonito.

754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[755] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[199] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
[784] diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained
nude, enclosed in the kajoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[296] spirit, or iamiku. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

/267 cont./

In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadilua and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called paka, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamũra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopũri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopũri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamũra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraic of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kacopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamũra, kadopa, topiehe, karoui, iuanagururo, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most dificult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 tadaunũto celebration. The other method was shamanism. 784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have consti- 182 tuted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they 756 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 787 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other • 276 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamũra andacquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

795 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects a might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamũra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremí;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *návi;* maize, *únji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *únto;* tobacco, *tauwí;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
● 276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapdki*).
[955] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[295] extent. Women wove mats (*anepéu*) out of various
[294] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí